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Security Council

Provisional

Fiftieth Year

3578th Meeting

Friday, 15 September 1995, 3.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Fulci	(Italy)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Zawels
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Wang Xuexian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	France	Mr. Thiebaud
	Germany	Mr. Henze
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Thayeb
	Nigeria	Mr. Egunsola
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John Weston
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Letter dated 6 September 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/768)

95-85987 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Letter dated 6 September 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/768)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia and Ukraine, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Pashovski (Bulgaria), Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) and Mr. Zlenko (Ukraine) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1995/768, which contains the text of a letter dated 6 September 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the report of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, concerning the operations of the International Conference's Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/789, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

The first speaker is the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on whom I now call.

Mr. Misić (Bosnia and Herzegovina): Since I am addressing the Council for the first time this month, allow me, Sir, sincerely to congratulate you on your inspired, conscientious and, above all, successful leadership of the Security Council during the first half of this turbulent month of September, which has been full not only of challenges and traps, but also of hopes that the tragic events in my homeland could be stopped and that finally solid foundations could be laid for a durable and stable peace that could, in the course of years, also become a just peace.

If our hopes are fulfilled, we will remember with gratitude that you, Mr. President, your colleagues in the delegation that you lead and your Government selflessly contributed.

I also cannot forget the significant contributions of Ambassador Wisnumurti of Indonesia and his associates, who during the month of August clearly demonstrated why their country, and their President Suharto, enjoy the complete confidence and sincere respect of the non-aligned countries, of which he has been the successful chairman during the last three years.

The draft resolution on the agenda of the Security Council represents a new, and so far the most generous, investment in the present bankrupt policy towards the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina of the FRY, which since August 1994 has been making promises and taking on obligations, but never fully and sincerely delivered; it never stopped supporting the Pale Serbs, both militarily and politically.

The findings of my Government, which I have presented to this Council, differ drastically from those that the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia have been submitting over this year to the Security Council. From January to the end of July deliveries of all kinds of military assistance from the FRY to the Pale Serbs doubled. This contributed to the destruction of the safe areas of Srebrenica and Zepa and to the immeasurable sufferings of civilians in Sarajevo, Bihac, Tuzla and Gorazde. It made it possible also for Mladić and

Karadzić to continue to ignore the international community, to humiliate and disable the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), and to pose a threat to the lives of the courageous and decent men and women serving under the UNPROFOR colours.

I can present a list of hundreds of names of Mladić's and Martić's soldiers, captured in the action to liberate Bihac last August, all of whom are citizens of the FRY and all of whom were mobilized by the authorities of the Milosević regime and sent to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia in June and July this year. To those who doubt their identities, my Government is ready to offer the opportunity to verify the facts on the spot in Bihac.

Indeed, we are surprised that the resolution which will be adopted today supports the suspension of sanctions against the FRY for the whole period of 180 days. But we also tend to believe that the time when the international community was willing to be deceived by the regime in Belgrade and their Pale proxies is irretrievably gone. During the last two weeks, Belgrade and Pale have tested the new determination of the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and I believe that they have come to the right conclusions — conclusions which will help them choose the right way forward from the crossroads at which they now find themselves. I hope they will not misunderstand the generosity and the confidence of the Security Council. I hope Belgrade will realize that it cannot build its prosperity on the conquest of its neighbours' territories and on its support for the formation of terrorist and secessionist movements. Without the clear and full compliance of the FRY with the border closure resolutions and all the well-known conditions, which include mutual recognition by the FRY, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia, as well as full respect for independence sovereignty and territorial integrity among the three neighbouring States, there will be no basis for any further easing of existing sanctions. We do hope that the latest peace initiative will bring us to the goal that would make this the last in the series of sanctions resolutions.

Because of this hope and these expectations, I have to remind the Security Council that it was precisely on 5 July last, as the Council was adopting resolution 1003 (1995), that, in Belgrade, under the auspices of Slobodan Milosevic, the President of Serbia, his military commander, General Momcilo Perisic, and the commander of rebel Pale Serbs, General Mladic, were planning the onslaught against the United Nations-declared "safe areas" of Srebrenica and Zepa, which concluded not only with their destruction, but also in new crimes against humanity in which thousands of inhabitants of these two martyred towns were slaughtered and 8,000 more are still unaccounted for.

At the same time, we would like to believe that the manipulated followers of Mladic and Karadzic in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina have finally realized that they have a new chance to disabuse themselves of the idea of a Greater Serbia and to spare their only homeland, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, from further destruction, which ultimately affects the Serbian population too, so that they can build their future and happiness only through peaceful co-existence, tolerance and understanding with their Bosniak Muslim and Bosnian Croat neighbours.

The President: I thank the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina for his kind words addressed to me and to my country.

The next speaker is the representative of Ukraine. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Zlenko (Ukraine) *(interpretation from Russian):* At one of the previous meetings of the Security Council, the delegation of Ukraine reserved the right to speak on the substance of the question of United Nations sanctions against Yugoslavia. Today we would like to exercise that right, and we thank you, Mr. President, for making it possible for us once again to address the members of the Security Council and other delegations present here in this Chamber.

Ukraine notes with satisfaction that the peace process in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and, in particular, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is gaining momentum and is becoming more stable. Step by step, against a background of extremely active diplomatic efforts, the countries most closely concerned have found a formula to reconcile the warring parties within increasingly clear parameters. A truly diplomatic breakthrough was reached with the meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Geneva on 8 September last.

On 14 September major agreements were reached, pursuant to which, in response to the withdrawal of heavy weapons by the Bosnian Serbs to a distance of 20

kilometres from Sarajevo, the armies of the Bosnian Government would cease hostilities within the exclusion zone. The achievement of these agreements, in our view, should establish a favourable background for continuing the peace talks. An important element in these agreements is the suspension of NATO air action, which will cease following the implementation of their provisions by both parties to the conflict.

The delegation of Ukraine hopes that this time the efforts of the international community to settle the Yugoslav conflict will lead to an end to war and to the establishment of a lasting peace in the Balkans.

The issue under discussion today is very closely linked to the prospects for a peaceful settlement in the region, especially because it affects the interests of one of its main participants. It is no secret to anyone that the position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) with regard to the conflict in the region and, in particular, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is crucial. The reaction of the leadership of the FRY to the dramatic events that have unfolded in the Balkans have to a great extent determined and will continue to determine the course of their development. On that basis, Ukraine believes that the problem of lifting sanctions against the FRY is an important and inalienable part of the process of political settlement in the Balkans.

There is a self-evident truth to be found in the report of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Supplement to An Agenda for Peace" when he says that

> "the purpose of sanctions is to modify the behaviour of a party that is threatening international peace and security and not to punish or otherwise exact retribution." (*S/1995/1, para. 66*).

In the view of the delegation of Ukraine, the purpose of the sanctions against the FRY has already been achieved. Furthermore, the FRY, through its specific actions, has shown its desire to help restore peace in the region. Thus, the Government of the FRY has voluntarily closed the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and those parts of the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina which are under the control of Bosnian Serb forces, and has in good faith fulfilled the obligations it has assumed. This is borne out by the conclusions of all 13 reports sent to date to the Secretary-General of the United Nations by the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

We should not forget the rather significant fact that it was, in fact, the Government of the FRY that played a positive role in freeing the peace-keepers during the so-called hostage crisis at the beginning of this summer.

The seriousness of the intentions of the leadership of the FRY to break the vicious circle of violence in the region has been demonstrated by the restraint and balance in the position of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia during the latest dramatic events in the Balkans connected with the military operations of the Croatian armies.

In this context, the continuation of the regime of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and further international isolation of that country can only lead to the opposite result. One major outcome would be compromising those measures of economic pressure as an effective weapon for the international community to have an impact on a State which is violating international law.

Ukraine welcomes the provisions of the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/789. We see in this a recognition by the international community of the seriousness of the intentions of the Government of the FRY and its desire to cooperate for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Furthermore, the delegation of the Ukraine believes that a continuation of the suspension of some of the sanctions against the FRY by 180 days is not an adequate step. In our view, at this stage, we could already be talking about the complete lifting of the sanctions referred to in resolutions 943 (1994), 970 (1995), 988 (1995) and 1003 (1995).

A first step in this direction could be to renewing transit deliveries to the territory of the FRY of a list of individual products, without receiving permission from the committee on sanctions against Yugoslavia, together with a lifting of the ban on trade with the FRY in products which are not regarded as strategic. The list of products deemed to be strategic could be shortened.

In this connection, the delegation of Ukraine welcomes the provisions of paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, which in our view make it possible for the Security Council in the near future to consider the problem raised by our delegation. We believe that such a step on the part of the Security Council would call forth a further positive reaction from the leadership of the FRY, which has a great deal of influence on the course of the peace process in the region — first and foremost, on the policy of the Bosnian Serbs. At the same time,

Ukraine believes that the process for lifting sanctions against the FRY should take place along with the process of mutual recognition of those States which have come about on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Ukraine, which borders on the Balkan States, which today is a contributor to the United Nations peace-keeping troops in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and which has in good faith observed the sanctions regime maintained by the United Nations against the FRY, suffering serious economic harm, has been following with great attention and hope developments in the Balkans. Ukraine has always advocated the earliest possible solution to the Yugoslav crisis on the basis of a formula of reconciliation acceptable to all parties. We support in every way possible the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations and of other international organizations, and the mediation efforts of the members of the international Contact Group and of individual countries, all designed for a comprehensive solution to the Yugoslav conflict.

Ukraine reaffirms its readiness to take part in the process of a political settlement in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Latest evidence of this is the invitation by President Leonid Kuchma to the leaders of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina to meet in Kiev on a whole series of problems related to a peace settlement.

The delegation of Ukraine expresses the hope that under your skilful guidance, Sir, the Security Council will be able to find the only genuine solution which will lead the long-suffering peoples living on the territory of the former Yugoslavia to peace.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Bulgaria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Pashovski (Bulgaria): I, too, would like to join the delegation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in congratulating you, Sir, on assuming your important post at a time when we all intend to find a solution to the painful conflict which is ravaging the Balkans.

My delegation asked to participate in the current Security Council discussion on the report of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia in order to state once again the unwavering support of the Government of the Republic of Bulgaria for all endeavours by the international community aimed at a just, comprehensive and mutually acceptable peaceful settlement of the conflict in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, as well as the initiative of the United States in the framework of the international Contact Group. In this respect, we highly appreciate the important work of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

In a statement issued today by my Government in Sofia, Bulgaria welcomes the current peace developments under way in the Balkans and supports the Security Council presidential statement of 8 September 1995. We share the belief that all parties to the conflict should refrain from hostilities and the use of armed force. Such responsible conduct will beyond all doubt enhance the the advancement of the emerging peace process.

Bulgaria finds particularly encouraging the outcome of the meeting held under the auspices of the international Contact Group in Geneva on 8 September 1995 between the Foreign Ministers of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, of the Republic of Croatia and of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The joint statement and the agreement by the parties on the Declaration of Principles for a negotiated overall peace settlement of the Yugoslav crisis are the first good signs on the road to lasting peace throughout the Balkan region.

Another recent development — the Interim Accord between the neighbouring States of Greece and Macedonia signed only two days ago in New York — is conducive to the further strengthening of the concepts of international law and the practices of peaceful, friendly relations in the Balkans.

The practical implementation of the decision by the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to maintain effective closure of the international border with the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina with respect to all goods except those for humanitarian needs, as well as to cooperate fully with the mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia in that regard, could be assessed as another encouraging sign of positive action.

Bulgaria welcomes the positive shift in the regional political thinking and action, demonstrated by these neighbouring countries in the region, which not only proclaim their adherence to the principles of peaceful resolution of conflicting interests in the Balkans, but also,

like my country, refrain from the use of force and direct involvement in any form in the conflicts in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, even under the auspices of the United Nations, so as not to invoke age-old hostilities and controversies.

In the context of the latest peace efforts coordinated within the Contact Group, I would like to reiterate some basic elements of my country's position on the comprehensive peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

Bulgaria's position against the lifting of the arms embargo as mandated by the Security Council is unchanged. A possible additional inflow of arms would lead to a further escalation and expansion of the conflict, thus undermining all current peace endeavours.

We feel that any resumption of hostilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, under any pretext, could jeopardize the positive effect of the tripartite meeting held under the auspices of the international Contact Group in Geneva on 8 September 1995.

We reaffirm our support for the peace-keeping and humanitarian presence of the United Nations in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, as mandated by the relevant Security Council resolutions, as long as it remains an important stabilizing factor and guarantees the success of the peace process.

We regard as positive the manifestation of encouraging elements in the position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) on the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As my country has repeatedly underscored, this represents a constructive prerequisite for the success of the peace efforts of the international community.

In the context of the advancement of the peace process in the Balkans, the question of sanctions is of paramount political and economic importance to Bulgaria. As a Member of the United Nations that is strictly observing the implementation of the Security Council resolutions imposing sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), regardless of their devastating effect on our national economy, the Republic of Bulgaria is of the view, as already stated on numerous occasions, that the peace process can lead to the beginning of a discussion about the suspension and gradual lifting of sanctions.

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, Greece, the Republic of Moldova, Romania and Ukraine expressed their concern about the overall situation in the region, which is aggravated by the sanctions, in their joint letter of 18 May 1995 addressed to the Secretary-General and circulated as a document of the Security Council (S/1995/412) and the General Assembly (A/50/189). The Government of Bulgaria would like to reiterate its support for the concrete proposals outlined therein to mitigate the sanctions' impact and to emphasize the expressed common belief that one of the challenges facing the United Nations today is related to the extent to which it would prove able to resolve the special economic problems of the non-target countries affected by the implementation of sanctions imposed by the Security Council.

Bulgaria has already declared its readiness to participate in an international plan for regional economic reconstruction and stability after the end of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. This could be our input to the post-conflict peace-building activities in the region. We would like to reiterate our strong belief that undertaking infrastructure projects and active regional economic cooperation will enhance security and stability in the Balkans.

With all of this in mind, my Government supports the draft resolution now before the Council.

The President: I thank the representative of Bulgaria for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Croatia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Nobilo (Croatia): Let me take this opportunity to express once again, Mr. President, my appreciation for the fine manner in which you are guiding the work of the Security Council.

The Republic of Croatia welcomes the renewed effort of the international community to bring peace to the war-torn regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, and in particular we welcome the American leadership demonstrated in the current peace initiative, which holds much promise.

We have always stated that the end of the aggression and human suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia can be achieved only if the international community is determined to respect the basic principles of international law and to implement the resolutions of the Security Council. We have always advocated the international community's using a careful balance of diplomatic, military and economic pressure on the Serbian side, which had until recently refused to implement the resolutions of this Council and rejected various peace initiatives.

My Government welcomes the new signs of cooperation from the Belgrade authorities and their Serbian proxies in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, which are a result of the determined use of the combined instruments at the disposal of the international community, as well as of the newly established military balance between the forces of the Serbian aggressors and those of their Croatian and Bosnian victims.

We strongly believe that sanctions are still one of the most effective instruments in the hands of the international community for bringing an end to this tragic and unnecessary war. Eliminating this instrument would undermine the already established balance and the international community's leverage on this conflict.

Croatia firmly believes that the gradual lifting of the sanctions against Belgrade must be related to deeds and not to promises. We also remind the Security Council that its resolution 871 (1993) clearly established the linkage between ending Belgrade's economic and political isolation and its cooperation in ending the occupation of parts of my country. We therefore wish to stress once again that any exclusion of the question of the remaining occupied territories of Croatia, in the eastern part of my country, from the present comprehensive peace plan, especially de-linking it from the sanctions regime against Belgrade, would inevitably force my Government to consider other legitimate means of restoring its sovereignty over, and bringing order to, its entire territory.

However, we remain hopeful, and will continue to cooperate in the present effort to bring lasting peace to my country, to Bosnia and Herzegovina and to the entire region.

The President: I thank the representative of Croatia for the kind words he addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Thayeb (Indonesia): I should like to begin by expressing my delegation's appreciation for the diligent efforts made by the sponsors of this draft resolution. We are indeed gratified by the unity of purpose that has been demonstrated by the Contact Group countries in drafting it, which demonstrates their unwavering resolve, along with that of the rest of the international community, to end this terrible and tragic conflict, which has inflicted so much suffering throughout the region.

Additionally, we are grateful for the Secretary-General's letter of 6 September 1995 to the President of the Security Council concerning the operations of the Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY). We would also like to express our gratitude to the personnel of the ICFY Mission for their proficient fulfilment of their responsibilities.

My delegation notes the certification issued by the ICFY Mission in its reports submitted since the adoption of resolution 1003 (1995) that the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) is continuing to meet its commitment to close its borders with the Bosnian Serb-controlled areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also that there have been no commercial transshipments across the border.

At the same time, however, we cannot fail to note with concern the continued shortcomings experienced in the border closure. Of particular concern is the fact that uniformed personnel continue to cross the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina — a clear violation of the border closure. My delegation believes that this issue needs to be urgently addressed. Similar attention needs to be given to reports of continued smuggling of fuel across the Drina river.

Clearly, therefore, it is possible to improve the effectiveness of the border closure. In this connection, my delegation is confident that the Federal Republic of

Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) is fully cognizant of the imperative need to redouble its efforts to enhance the border closure by continuing its cooperation with the Mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

The Indonesian delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution, for it is our firm belief that the closure of the international border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina continues to remain an instrumental and critical pillar for the achievement of a negotiated settlement to this crisis.

Mr. Wang Xuexian (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is an important factor for promoting peace and stability in the region. Its Government has been making unremitting efforts to urge the Bosnian Serbs to accept the peace plan. Just a few days ago, the Foreign Ministers of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia signed a declaration of principles on the settlement of the Bosnian conflict, thus moving the peace process one step forward. The Security Council has already welcomed this development.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has indeed made many efforts to implement the relevant resolutions of the Council. The Mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia has clearly stressed in all the reports it has submitted to the Council that the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia continues to meet its commitment to close its border with Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Mission enjoys full freedom of movement within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and good cooperation with its Government.

We are of the view that these unremitting efforts of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to continue to meet its commitment to bring peace to Bosnia and Herzegovina should be fully recognized and encouraged by the Council through concrete action. We have noted that the draft resolution before us extends the partial suspension of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to 180 days. The Chinese delegation will vote in favour.

In keeping with China's basic position on sanctions, we are not in favour of using pressure tactics such as mandatory sanctions in the region of the former Yugoslavia. Instead of rendering any help, they would only complicate the issue and hurt innocent civilians. We are therefore of the view that the Security Council should lift these sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and further consider the easing of other economic sanctions against it. We believe that this will not only help to alleviate the suffering caused by the sanctions to the people in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the region, but also facilitate the economic development of all the countries of the region and contribute to restoring peace and stability.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): In the view of the Russian delegation, the draft resolution on the suspension of some sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a significant improvement over previous resolutions on this subject. In particular, the draft resolution is now free of provisions not pertaining to Belgrade's decision to close the border with Bosnia to all but humanitarian deliveries. A step in the right direction is the substantial — more than two-fold — increase in the time-frame for the next suspension of some sanctions. Bearing these aspects in mind, we support this draft resolution.

We believe that the positive changes in the draft resolution objectively reflect the conclusions contained in the latest report on the operations of the Mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, submitted pursuant to resolutions 988 (1995) and 1003 (1995), which contains a clear affirmation that the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia continues to comply with its obligation to close the border. The report's information on the adequate response of officials of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to isolated incidents of violations of the border regime and with Mission personnel are additional proof of Belgrade's firm intent to fulfil the obligations it has undertaken.

In a broader context, the Russian delegation believes that the constructive policy of the Yugoslav leadership should meet with an appropriate response from the international community. The result of the negotiations in Geneva, expressed in the agreed joint declaration of the parties and the signing of agreed basic principles, as well as Belgrade's new policy towards the Bosnian question, are convincing evidence of the fact that, in current conditions, retaining the sanctions regime against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would run against the spirit and letter of resolutions 757 (1992), 787 (1992) and 820 (1993). In fact, it is well known that these resolutions were adopted in entirely different circumstances. In today's broader and more positive

atmosphere, the absence of a reaction on the part of the Security Council would clearly be unsatisfactory.

Sanctions should be completely lifted without delay. In essence, their retention is already a hindrance to efforts under way to reach a political settlement. Given our position in favour of an immediate lifting of sanctions, we take note of paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, which reaffirms the Security Council's decision to consider further steps with regard to measures applicable to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in the light of further progress in the situation. Such steps towards a further easing of sanctions might be adopted at any time, without waiting for the current resolution's deadline to expire.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to thank the Secretary-General for submitting the report of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia concerning the operations of the International Conference's Mission and the certification of the closing of the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of the Bosnian Serb forces.

We have taken due note of the conclusions of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia that the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is continuing to meet its commitment to close its border with Bosnia and Herzegovina and that there have been no commercial transshipments across that border. We also note that the Conference's Mission enjoys freedom of movement in that country and that it is being given the cooperation of the Yugoslav authorities, which continue to enforce current legislation regarding the closure of the border.

So far this year we have regularly received reports from the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia in which they have invariably certified that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is meeting its commitment to close the border with the Bosnian Serbs and fulfilling its unilateral decision of 4 August 1994 to break political and economic ties with the Serb leaders in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in order to influence them to agree to participate in the search for a peaceful, negotiated solution to the crisis in Bosnia, while also complying with the terms of the resolutions of this Council by which the sanctions were imposed.

We therefore believe that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is attempting to contribute to the search for a just and peaceful solution to the Bosnian crisis. My delegation recognizes the importance of that collaboration, which was particularly in evidence during the recent negotiations in Geneva, which concluded with the signing of a joint declaration of basic principles, creating a new negotiating framework in that conflict.

My delegation believes that maintaining the sanctions indefinitely would not really help to resolve the conflict in Bosnia, but we could hope that lifting them would help lighten the burden that they represent for the economic and social development of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and neighbouring countries, taking into account the hundreds of thousands of refugees who have sought shelter in the country because of recent events in the region.

My delegation hopes that the draft resolution now before the Council, on which my delegation will vote in favour, will contribute substantially to motivating the Belgrade authorities to continue to cooperate with the international community so that a just and lasting peace may be achieved in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also so that in the near future the Council may consider definitively revoking the sanctions regime.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): There is no doubt that the proposed length of the period of suspension is a clear recognition by the Security Council of the positive role that the authorities in Belgrade have played in the Yugoslav peace process over the past few weeks. When the Security Council adopted resolution 943 (1994) last October, the idea was to isolate the Serb forces in Bosnia and pressure them into accepting the Contact Group peace plan. That pressure has contributed in no small measure to the current developments in the peace process in Bosnia. My delegation attaches great importance to the Geneva basic principles for a peaceful settlement of the war in Bosnia, brokered by United States Assistant Secretary of State Holbrooke, and it is our hope that all parties in Bosnia will halt all military action in favour of the peace process.

My delegation none the less welcomes the agreement signed yesterday for the withdrawal of the Bosnian Serb heavy weapons from Sarajevo, thus relieving the city of the shelling that for three years has been maiming innocent civilians. It is our hope that this agreement will serve as a foundation for a durable peace, not only for the residents of Sarajevo, but for all three

ethnic groups in that war-ravaged country. We remain convinced that there is only one sensible and realistic path to salvation and peace in Bosnia: the path of mutual accommodation and acceptance by all three peoples of Bosnia.

Finally, as we celebrate all this progress, I wish to caution against the appearance of partiality by the United Nations in the Balkan conflict. The horror of the Serb shelling of a marketplace in Sarajevo, which resulted in the death of 37 innocent civilians, constituted a cynical provocation directed at the authority of the United Nations, and therefore deserved a strong response. However, the United Nations should avoid the appearance — I repeat "appearance" — of taking sides in that conflict. The United Nations cannot be an honest peace broker and a peace enforcer at the same time. Far be it from me to think our response was intended to weaken the Bosnian Serbs to a point where they could be defeated militarily by the Bosnian and Croat coalition. No such thought has ever crossed my mind. I am, however, mindful of the fact that the line separating peace and war is at times a very slim one in that area. The United Nations cannot wage war in Bosnia and hope to make peace at the same time, without compromising the execution of one of these aims. Furthermore, it is critical that the Security Council should jealously guard against losing control altogether in transferring the authority of the United Nations to regional arrangements. In such situations, the United Nations should never assume the position of a bystander in an operation that is supposed to be under the command and control of the Security Council.

Mr. Egunsola (Nigeria): My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his letter forwarding the report on the Mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). We have carefully considered the report and noted with satisfaction the continuing political commitment of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the closure of the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of the Bosnian Serb forces. Furthermore, we note with satisfaction the good working relationship between the ICFY Mission's personnel and officials of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

However, we wish to express our concern at reports of continuing violations of the border regime at certain points, particularly the smuggling of fuel across the Drina river, north of Trbusnica. In our view, these fuel shipments can have only one purpose: to keep the war machine of the Bosnian Serb army going, and that, we believe, is against the spirit and letter of the Council's resolutions. We therefore call on the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to take adequate steps to put a stop to all illegal activities and border violations.

With respect to the draft resolution before us, which would suspend for 180 days the measures referred to in operative paragraph 1 of resolution 943 (1994), my delegation is in a position to support it, not only because of the favourable report from the Co-Chairmen, but because we have seen signs that the Council's carrot-and-stick policy is having its intended effect, which is to modify the behaviour of the authorities in Belgrade. In this regard, the restraint shown by the FRY during the summer offensive in Croatia was commendable.

Finally, my delegation believes that the desire for a peaceful settlement, which the Geneva declaration of 8 September 1995 represents, needs to be given all the necessary encouragement. In view of the foregoing, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Henze (Germany): Germany is a sponsor of the draft before the Council. We welcome the fact that recent developments have made it possible to suspend certain sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), not for 75 or 100, but for 180 days.

The latest report of the Mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) finds that the FRY is continuing to meet its commitment to close the border between its territory and the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of the Bosnian Serb forces. This is the prerequisite for further suspension of the sanctions. Today's significant prolongation of the suspension period constitutes the Council's acknowledgment that the FRY leadership has recently taken some important steps that may have helped to bring us closer to a comprehensive political solution of the conflict in the Balkans.

Let us be clear that today's decision, favorable as it is, does entail expectations as to the FRY's future conduct. As the FRY continues to bear a heavy responsibility for the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, it is only logical that it must help to solve the ongoing conflict. It is therefore crucial that the FRY should stick to its present course. That means, firstly, that it should refrain completely from military assistance to the Bosnian Serbs, be this assistance overt or covert, direct or

indirect. Secondly, it means that the FRY should lend firm, constructive and sustained support for the promising peace effort currently under way. It should not be ignored that today's decision is still a temporary one.

The border closure constitutes an essential element of the ongoing peace effort and, consequently, Germany attaches great political importance to it. As an expression of this position, we have just decided to strengthen our contribution to the ICFY Mission by making available an additional group of 10 observers.

Let me conclude by recalling how gloomy the situation was when we came together on 5 July this year to adopt resolution 1003 (1995), today's predecessor text. At that time, the suspension period could be no more than 75 days. Only against this background does one realize fully the progress that has been made, and which makes a 180-day suspension possible. We are under no illusion about the difficulties still lying ahead on the way to a comprehensive political solution, a solution that would include the lifting of all sanctions imposed on the FRY. But we must finally succeed in helping to bring about a situation where Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks will again be able to live together in peace. We are looking forward to such a time when the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) will again find a respected place in the international community.

The President: There are no more speakers wishing to speak before the vote.

The Council will now proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it (S/1995/789).

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1015 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): There is some movement towards peace in the Balkans. The United States, in full consultation with our Contact Group partners, the Governments in the region, and the United Nations, has led a negotiating process in recent weeks that is producing results. The Geneva Principles which were agreed to last week provide the basis for a negotiated settlement to the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Yesterday, the Bosnian Serbs agreed to comply with United Nations demands and withdraw their heavy weapons from the Sarajevo exclusion zone. This, along with their commitment to allow unimpeded road access to Sarajevo for humanitarian traffic and to allow the reopening of Sarajevo airport represents a major step towards lifting the siege of Sarajevo. The cease-fire agreement for Sarajevo is a further significant step that we hope will lead to further progress. We expect the Bosnian Serbs to turn agreement into reality by fully meeting their obligations. We note that the United Nations has already made it clear that failure to comply, or attacks on the other safe areas, will lead to the resumption of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air operations.

My Government supports extending the suspension of a limited number of sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro for six months. We decided to make this unilateral gesture in the spirit of recent events and in the hope that the Government in Belgrade will facilitate continued progress in the peace talks.

We are particularly pleased that the co-sponsors of this resolution include Russia, which plays such a critical role in the peace process. We are also grateful to the President of the Council and the Government of Italy for their contribution and support in the peace process and in implementing Council resolutions.

We are under no illusion that continued suspension of these sanctions is the key to peace. Nor are we under any illusion that the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is fully closed. But we are determined during this critical period of intensive negotiations to do everything we possibly can to achieve a lasting peace and restore justice to the region.

I want to underline some fundamental points about the resolution we have adopted today.

First, the sanctions that continue to be suspended are limited strictly to cultural and sports exchanges, and the restoration of passenger air transport to and from Belgrade and ferry service to the port of Bar. There is no suspension of economic sanctions. In short, we have not increased sanctions relief; we have simply extended the suspension of existing relief for six months. My Government continues to believe that further sanctions relief must follow real steps towards peace, such as mutual recognition among the successor States to the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Secondly, the requirements of resolution 988 (1995) remain in full force and effect, and my Government expects them to be fully implemented. That includes the requirement in paragraphs 14 and 15 of resolution 988 (1995) that the Secretary-General report to the Security Council immediately if he has evidence of non-compliance with the border closure by the authorities of Serbia and Montenegro. If we receive such a report, the suspension terminates. This is not a phantom requirement; it constitutes a core basis for my Government's original position on suspension, and our decision today to support this extension.

In that regard there have indications of shortcomings in the implementation of Serbia and Montenegro's commitment to close its border with the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to all but humanitarian shipments. In particular, efforts by Serbia and Montenegro to assist the Bosnian Serbs in restoring their military communications and air defence networks and providing other military assistance to make up losses suffered in the recent air strikes would violate their commitment to close the border. I can assure you that my Government remains focused on this question.

There is much work ahead to achieve our common objectives in the Balkans. This resolution is consistent with those objectives. We expect the Bosnian parties to negotiate in good faith on the basis of the Geneva Principles. We recognize that despite the progress made in the past two weeks, the parties have taken only the first steps on the road to peace. The United States and the entire international community will do what we can to help them, but the ultimate responsibility for deciding between peace or more war rests with the parties.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for her kind words addressed to my Government.

Sir John Weston (United Kingdom): The British Government, too, welcomes the fact that the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) have again been able to report that the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of the Bosnian Serbs remains closed. This has occurred despite the practical difficulties which the ICFY Mission has faced from time to time in carrying out its duties. We urge the authorities of the FRY to maintain their cooperation with the ICFY Mission and to ensure that the Mission can operate in future in total freedom.

We welcome the increase in the period of suspension of sanctions from 75 to 180 days. This extension reflects the effective closure of the border. But it also reflects the cooperative role being played by the authorities of the FRY. We look forward to the day — not too far off, we hope — when it will prove possible to lift all the economic sanctions which have been imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), as part of the general settlement that is now being so actively pursued.

The sanctions imposed by this Council have created a climate in which the efforts of the international community to bring about a peaceful resolution of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia are beginning to bear fruit. The London Conference was a turning point. The resolute North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and United Nations response to the attack on the Sarajevo market place and the diplomatic efforts of the United States and of the Contact Group have offered a fresh opportunity for the logic of peace to prevail. It is an opportunity which must not be squandered, and Britain stands ready to play its part.

Mr. Thiebaud (France) *(interpretation from French):* My delegation, which presented the draft text, together with all the members of the Contact Group and the Czech Republic, is gratified at its prompt and unanimous adoption by the Council at a decisive point in the peace process in the former Yugoslavia.

While this new resolution is technical in nature, the improvements made to it — the extension of the suspension period to 180 days — also reflects the conviction of France and of all the members of the Council that a real dynamics of negotiation seems today to have begun and must be encouraged in order to

achieve as soon as possible a just and lasting peace in the entire region.

It is thus our hope that the Council will have the opportunity to decide, on the basis of how the situation evolves, on further alleviation of sanctions. This would reflect the peace efforts of the international community, in which, as the Council knows, France has fully participated and will continue fully to participate.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), has received yet again a clean bill of health from the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) concerning its maintaining a sealed border with the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and concerning its cooperation with the ICFY Mission monitoring that border.

This would be reason enough for the Security Council to pass resolution 1015 (1995), which has extended the sanctions relief first effected by resolution 943 (1994). In addition, though, we have taken good note of the posture of reticent onlooker that the FRY authorities adopted during recent Croatian military activities aimed at reintegrating parts of Croatia's territory that had been under the control of Croatian Serbs bent on secession. This is a posture we greatly appreciated, even more so since the brunt of the humanitarian aftermath of Croatia's military action, in the form of hundreds of thousands of Serb refugees, has fallen largely on State and local authorities of the FRY.

More recently, the FRY and President Milosevic personally were critically instrumental in agreeing to a set of peace principles in Geneva concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina. The promise of Geneva has in the most recent days been augmented by an accord on Bosnia and Herzegovina, which we hear was actually based on propositions of President Milosevic.

There is for us, at least, auspicious symbolism in these developments taking place just as we in the Czech Republic have started celebrating a month of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the auspices of Presidents Havel and Izetbegovic.

Furthermore, these developments vindicate the policy of this Council, which in resolutions 942 (1994) and 943 (1994) first sought to underscore the then emerging differences between Serbs of the FRY and Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina by differentiating its treatment of the two, by relaxing sanctions on the former while tightening them on the latter. At that time last year, the Council took a gamble and the voting was nowhere near the unanimity we witnessed today. This gamble has paid off.

The resolutions that followed 943 (1994) extended or shortened the time period for relaxing sanctions depending on how we perceived the behaviour of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. My delegation has even on previous occasions argued that a longer period of relaxed sanctions would be appropriate, and the half year for which sanction relief has been authorized today is in our view very proper.

This is why the Czech Republic was happy to co-sponsor resolution 1015 (1995). We recognized that this resolution might well be the last of its kind, inasmuch as in six months we might be facing a different situation altogether. Needless to say, that depends more on future actions of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia than on the Security Council.

Mr. Zawels (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: With the resolution that we have just adopted, this Council has dedicated itself to one of its most delicate functions — that of deciding, on the basis of the behaviour of a State, on the regime of sanctions imposed on it. In accordance with what we have stated at past meetings, we completely agree with the provisions of resolution 1015 (1995), which we believe to be an adequate response to developments and to the attitude of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), not only as regards the closure of its border with the territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of the local Serb authorities, but also as regards its participation in the peace process.

Most of the news reaching us today from the Balkans makes it possible for us to have moderate but firm optimism as regards the results of the peace process. We hope that the day is not too far off when it will no longer be necessary to use the sanctions regime in order to maintain international peace and security in that region.

Finally, we wish to express our sincere appreciation to all the personnel of the Mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. Thanks to them, every time this Council has reviewed the regime of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), it has had a clear and objective

view of a reality with which it must be familiar in order to take the decisions entrusted to it.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Italy.

Italy views with satisfaction the adoption of today's Security Council resolution to extend for another 180 days the suspension of some sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). That is why, as members of the Contact Group, we co-sponsored the resolution.

We believe that lengthening the period of exemption from 75 days to 180 days sends Belgrade the clear message that its constructive and cooperative role in the latest developments in the peace process in the former Yugoslavia is being recognized and appreciated. These developments led to the Geneva understanding of 8 September on some agreed basic principles, which represent a step forward on the still long and difficult road to a comprehensive political solution. The longer period of suspension of the sanctions — from two and a half months to six months — will certainly encourage Belgrade to continue to exercise its powers of persuasion to help induce the Pale leadership to make a serious and constructive commitment to negotiation. The framework for a cessation of hostilities within Sarajevo, signed by the Bosnian Serb authorities and witnessed by Belgrade's highest authorities, represents another encouraging step in the right direction.

After months and months of stalled negotiations and untold suffering and misery for the civilian population in the former Yugoslavia, the situation finally seems to offer a glimmer of hope.

I wish to recall the steadiness and consistency with which my Government has always sought to apply the policy of incentives and disincentives towards the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), decided on last year by the Security Council. We believe that, given the new windows of opportunity opening up in these days, the time has come to place the accent on the incentives in order to further encourage Belgrade to create the proper conditions for its progressive reintegration into the international community as a fully fledged member. In our opinion, today's resolution must be seen within such a context and from such a perspective.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.